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Chairman: Mr. Zackheos ..... (Cyprus)

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The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

Agenda item 90: Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects (*continued*) (A/54/87, A/54/63-S/1999/171, A/C.4/54/L.2*)

1. **Mr. Kazhura** (Belarus) said that his delegation supported the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

2. There was no doubt that the United Nations had a primary role to play in the maintenance of international peace and security. The deployment of armed forces should be an exceptional measure, which could be taken only on the decision of the Security Council, once all other political and legal remedies had been exhausted. It was not justified unless international peace and security were truly threatened and it did not contravene the principle of the sovereignty of States recognized by the Charter.

3. It was particularly important to consider agenda item 90 because the Charter contained no precise provision concerning peacekeeping operations. All the legal aspects of recourse to force in international relations deriving from the principles laid down in the Charter, must be considered, and at the same time agreement must be reached on modalities for the implementation of decisions.

4. In view of the increasing number of internal conflicts, the instruments available to the Organization must be considered in detail, in particular to prevent and settle crisis situations. It was a question not only of reacting in cases of acute crisis, but also and above all of identifying the deep-seated causes of conflicts and the means to be used to eliminate them.

5. The degree of success achieved by the Organization in Kosovo and in East Timor would be the yardstick for measuring its effectiveness in maintaining international peace. The normalization of the situation in the Balkans and in Indonesia would not be possible unless all the parties to the conflicts participated in formulating the mandate of the peacekeeping missions in accordance with the principles set forth in the relevant Security Council resolutions.

6. Belarus, which was one of the States which had urged that the United Nations should settle the question of Kosovo, was gratified that the Security Council had supported that point of view by adopting resolution 1244 (1999). The consideration of the question of Kosovo should lead to the adoption of a binding legal instrument that would define the conditions of recourse to force in the settlement of international crises in accordance with respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the norms of international law.

7. It was gratifying that the United Nations and regional bodies were jointly trying to implement rapid response and preventive diplomacy measures. The United Nations should not relinquish its responsibilities, however, but should make the best possible use of the comparative advantages of regional bodies to ensure the maintenance of peace. Regional bodies should be able to intervene only in the context of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, with the authorization of the Security Council and under its strict control.

8. Belarus was in favour of the adoption of a coherent, well-planned, coordinated and comprehensive approach to conflicts which included political and social measures. The international community should support not only the Secretariat departments specifically responsible for peacekeeping activities, but also all the components of the United Nations system which were working for sustainable development. It was through preventive economic and social diplomacy that it would be possible to eliminate the causes of conflicts.

9. Belarus believed that the stand-by arrangements system should be developed so that the Organization could react faster to the crises which broke out in the world. It intended to strengthen the support it provided to peacekeeping operations. Lastly, his delegation fully supported the view expressed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that the question of "humanitarian interference" should be considered by the competent bodies of the General Assembly.

10. **Mr. Suh Dae-won** (Republic of Korea) said that the Republic of Korea endorsed a number of the recommendations made by the Special Committee in its report (A/54/87), and supported their early implementation.

11. The Republic of Korea deplored the increasing tendency to target United Nations peacekeepers, particularly with political motivations, and paid tribute to all those who had lost their lives in service to the United Nations. It urged States which had not yet done so to ratify the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel and encouraged the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to explore avenues for strengthening the security of peacekeepers.

12. His delegation supported the Special Committee's recommendations regarding the strengthening of the protection of humanitarian personnel in conflict situations.

The mandates must be clearly defined so that they could be implemented in a timely, effective and impartial manner, and adequate resources were procured. His delegation appreciated the support of other delegations for its initiative in that matter.

13. His delegation was pleased that the Department of Peacekeeping Operations was continuing to fulfil its mandate despite the reduction in staff, but was concerned that the phasing out of gratis personnel could have a negative impact on the Department's capacity for intervention; once again, it called upon the Department to elaborate transitional arrangements at Headquarters and in the field. Member States should be encouraged to conclude standby arrangements to enable the United Nations to react rapidly in crisis situations. The Republic of Korea, for its part, intended to participate in the operation of the Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters to facilitate the deployment of new peacekeeping operations.

14. The Republic of Korea found it deplorable that non-payment of arrears by certain Member States had forced the United Nations to sustain regular budget activities only by cross borrowing and to delay reimbursements to troop and equipment contributors. It urged Member States to pay their contributions on time, in full and without conditions.

15. The Republic of Korea supported the recommendations made by the Special Committee in its report with a view to improving working methods. More broadly, innovative solutions must be found to improve the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations so as to ensure the long-term success of peacekeeping efforts.

16. **Mr. Enkhsaikhan** (Mongolia) endorsed the South African statement made on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement concerning the adoption of new working procedures, the observance of international humanitarian law by United Nations forces, the recruitment or personnel and reimbursement.

17. Through its peacekeeping operations, the United Nations had been able to save the lives of millions by helping to create political conditions conducive to resolving conflicts and promoting negotiations.

18. Peacekeeping operations had been downsized. Yet the deployment of new missions in Kosovo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and East Timor, the expansion of the operation in Sierra Leone and the likelihood of a mission in Eritrea and Ethiopia would require the commitment of tens of thousands of personnel as well as vast amounts of financial resources and equipment, all of which posed problems.

19. Mongolia firmly supported the Charter principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States and of non-interference. The consent of the parties, impartiality, clearly defined mandates, objectives and command structure and adequate, predictable financing were essential for the success of peacekeeping operations.

20. Peacekeeping offered only provisional solutions and did not eliminate the underlying causes of conflicts. Therefore, if the international community moved from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention, many lives would be saved as well as vast amounts of financial and other resources that could be devoted to economic and social development.

21. The evolving nature of conflicts and the multiplicity of their causes required a multidimensional approach that called for the performance of non-traditional tasks, as in Kosovo and East Timor.

22. Mission planning in the field, a cooperative relationship with local administrations, the recruitment of skilled and well-trained personnel and solid technical and financial backing were the keys to the success of any peacekeeping operation. Mongolia was convinced of the need to strengthen the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and commended Norway and the other States which had assisted in the training-for-peace programme.

23. Mongolia, which now intended to take a direct part in United Nations peacekeeping operations, had signed a memorandum of understanding on standby arrangements and had held a national seminar on peacekeeping operations. It was counting on the cooperation of the Department, but also that of the troop-contributing countries and those which organized personnel training programmes, whose experience would be invaluable.

24. His delegation welcomed the entry into force of the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and the Associated Personnel and hoped that a growing number of States would soon ratify it. Mongolia itself intended to initiate ratification procedures. It also supported the measures to ensure the security of peacekeeping personnel that were outlined by the Deputy Secretary-General in the plenary Assembly.

25. Regional organizations could play an important role in peacekeeping operations if they observed the principles set out in the Charter, especially Chapter VII, and the mandate of the Security Council, but they could not replace the United Nations.

26. **Mr. Dausá Céspedes** (Cuba) endorsed the statement by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Non-Aligned

Movement. The principle of the consent of the parties to a conflict, an absolute precondition for launching any peacekeeping operation, could not be disregarded, nor could the basic principles of the Charter with respect to the unconditional observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference into their internal affairs and the sovereign equality of States. Furthermore, when they sidestepped the authority of the Security Council, peacekeeping operations were liable to become a foreign policy tool in the hands of some Powers.

27. Cuba firmly supported the decisions taken by the Working Group of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and by the Non-Aligned Movement with a view to improving working relations between the Special Committee and the General Assembly in the interest of greater effectiveness.

28. The standby arrangements were an ideal rapid deployment means. As for the humanitarian law guidelines given to peacekeeping forces, his delegation joined with the others that had deplored the absence of substantive consultations on the matter. Cuba was, moreover, concerned about the delays in reimbursing countries that contributed troops and equipment.

29. It was absolutely necessary to establish a clear distinction between peacekeeping operations and humanitarian action, especially when the latter was a cloak for a hegemonic agenda.

30. In conclusion, he drew attention to the root causes of conflicts — poverty and economic underdevelopment — which had to be attacked if the aim was to find a just and lasting solution to conflicts and to promote peace.

31. **Mr. Macedo** (Mexico) said that the two crises that had dominated the international scene in 1999, Kosovo and East Timor, had demonstrated the few strengths and many weaknesses of the United Nations in the area of conflict resolution. The use of the veto, an anachronistic procedure of the Security Council, and the interests of a small number of powerful States often prevented the Organization from acting according to its principles, which seemed to have been sacrificed in the name of pragmatism and efficiency.

32. Mexico opposed that trend and considered that it was imperative to defend principles and international law. The consent of the parties was one such principle which it was essential to respect and which was the prerequisite for the success of any operation. Moreover, peacekeeping operations must respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and must display neutrality and impartiality.

33. The Mexican delegation reaffirmed its concern regarding what could be called "coalitions of interested parties", which essentially meant the abdication by the United Nations of its responsibilities and which were being legitimized through an increasingly lax interpretation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

34. As rightly emphasized in the report of the Special Committee, peace-keeping operations should not serve as the pretext for ignoring the underlying causes of conflicts, i.e. the problems of development, political instability and the absence of economic and social structures.

35. Mexico recognized the role devolving to regional bodies in conflict resolution, but recalled that the maintenance of peace and security was first and foremost the responsibility of the Security Council of the United Nations. Moreover, the collaboration of regional bodies must be carried out with strict respect for the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

36. Peacekeeping operations were becoming increasingly complex and their traditional military mandates, which were based on the authority of the Security Council, were being supplemented with numerous tasks of a civilian nature such as election monitoring, institution-building and strengthening of peace. The Mexican delegation was of the view that the responsibility for such civilian activities lay with the General Assembly and not with the Security Council.

37. With regard to rapid deployment, the Mexican delegation wished to emphasize that the decisive factor in an intervention was not its rapidity but the consent of the parties concerned. Moreover, it shared the view that the Stand-By Arrangement System should be the means for strengthening rapid deployment capacity. That given, Mexico considered that numerous factors connected with the functioning of such a mechanism required further study, and that it would thus be premature to take a decision on the subject.

38. Finally, Mexico joined the members of the Non-Aligned Movement in reiterating that it was absolutely indispensable to establish a clear distinction between humanitarian activities and peacekeeping operations.

39. **Mr. Junior** (Mozambique) said that his delegation supported the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. On the eve of the new millennium, violent conflicts were shaking various parts of the world, and Africa, the continent most affected,

required strong peacekeeping efforts. In that regard, the decision taken at the latest summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to make the year 2000 a Year of Peace and Security with the goal of ending conflicts in Africa had been an important step towards restoring peace and security, not only for the continent but for the entire world. It was intended to promote a durable peace and reinforce the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa. That Mechanism, together with other subregional initiatives and with adequate resources and assistance, could constitute the backbone of the search for a durable peace throughout the continent.

40. There would be no durable peace in Africa without sustained development in all countries of the region. For that reason, peacekeeping operations should not only contribute to the restoration of peace, but also facilitate the transition from emergency to reconstruction, and then from that stage to sustainable development. For there to be a stable peace, it was necessary to address the root causes of conflicts, especially by providing debt relief or cancellation, reversing the decline of Official Development Assistance, and improving the terms of trade in order to allow weaker economies access to the world market. The United Nations must also concentrate on conflict prevention by supporting preventive diplomacy and further enhancing the system of rapid deployment.

41. Mozambique welcomed the recent proposal of the Secretary-General to deploy a contingent of 6,000 troops in Sierra Leone, as well as the positive reaction of the Security Council to that proposal.

42. The Southern Africa Development Community was also contributing to the search for peace and stability in the region and for that purpose had established its own mechanism, the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. With other countries in the region, Mozambique was participating in the common search for solutions to the conflicts in its sister countries of Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Nevertheless, in order to successfully play that important role, the Community needed international support.

43. In the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Mozambican delegation recalled the recent statement in the Security Council of its Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, in which he had noted that the Southern Africa Development Community hoped to establish a solid partnership with the United Nations in order to guarantee the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, and had added that the early and timely deployment of peacekeeping forces, in sufficient numbers and with adequate resources in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, was imperative for the achievement of lasting peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

44. Mozambique, which had made a modest contribution to the peace process in East Timor and in Kosovo, stood ready to contribute to international peace and security.

45. **Mr. Gatilov** (Russian Federation) was of the opinion that the growing demand for United Nations peacekeeping operations, from Africa to East Timor, testified to the fact that such operations were efficient tools for securing global and regional stability. The Organization had accumulated great practical experience in that sphere over the past half century and must continue to play a central role. An important component of the concept of the world in the twenty-first century which President Yeltsin had put forward was the strengthening of the legal foundations of peacekeeping in strict compliance with the principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

46. He was concerned that the international community increasingly tended to rely on coercive measures and military pressure while ignoring available political and diplomatic means of settling conflicts. The lessons of the events in Kosovo must be learned: the use of illegitimate methods only aggravated problems. Fortunately joint efforts had made it possible to bring the Kosovo problem back into the framework of the United Nations for a political and legal settlement under the control of the Security Council. It was therefore important to strictly implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

47. Operations of a coercive nature must be reserved for exceptional circumstances and must be undertaken according to strict guidelines following a decision of the Security Council and under the political and operational control of the Council when all other options had been exhausted.

48. The rules of engagement governing the use of force in self-defence must be clearly defined in the mandates of operations established by the Security Council. It was unacceptable that the rules or mandates be interpreted to serve political interests.

49. The maintenance of regional and international stability directly depended on the prevention and settlement of humanitarian crises, but violations of international humanitarian law should not be stopped by actions which contradicted the Charter of the United Nations, especially when such actions served to sanction a State or a people not to the liking of some Member States.

50. The time had come to review and develop international law to include enforcement action undertaken by the

international community, including in the case of humanitarian emergencies, within a well-defined legal framework pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations. The Russian Federation was ready to participate in such efforts, which must be collaborative so that the decisions taken would be consensual and unopposed.

51. In the overwhelming majority of cases, United Nations peacekeeping operations had undeniable advantages over operations undertaken by coalitions or multinational forces. However, given the limited resources of the Organization, peacekeeping operations undertaken by ad hoc coalitions or multinational forces could be justified provided that such operations fully respected the principles set out in the Charter and were undertaken under the control of the Security Council.

52. Peacekeeping operations were not an end in themselves but a means to achieve a political settlement and that should be made absolutely clear in their mandate, which must be of limited duration and subject to review as their goals were achieved.

53. The root causes of conflicts must be attacked in order to deal with the emergence of a new type of conflict which, although internal, threatened international peace and security, it had become necessary to act simultaneously on several fronts: disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants into civilian life, demining, as well as closer collaboration right from the planning stage with humanitarian bodies whose objectives did not always coincide with those of the peacekeeping operations. Technical capacity-building must also be reinforced and more material resources must be mobilized in order to respond rapidly to a crisis. In that context the Standby Arrangements System must be completed.

54. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements must be strengthened in accordance with Articles 52 and 53 of Chapter VIII of the Charter and responsibilities should be shared between them in a rational manner, without diluting the central role of the United Nations and the prerogatives of the Security Council. It was essential to enhance the capacity of African regional and subregional organizations which were cooperating with the United Nations to prevent and settle conflicts and humanitarian catastrophes. His delegation believed that joint action by the United Nations and regional arrangements was especially important given the growing cooperation between the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the settlement of conflicts within the latter's territory. He welcomed the role played by United Nations observers cooperating with the CIS peacekeeping forces deployed in Georgia and Tajikistan. The full disarmament of combatants and their reintegration into civilian life in Tajikistan continued to be a source of concern, especially with regard to financial assistance.

55. The security of peacekeeping forces was increasingly threatened. He paid a tribute to all peacekeeping personnel, including Russian citizens, who had given their lives in the cause of peace. All attacks against peacekeeping personnel should be investigated with a view to punishing those responsible.

56. His delegation shared the concern about delays in reimbursing troop-contributing countries. Peacekeeping operations must have solid financing. The scale of assessments should be reviewed in order to reflect the real economic situation of States and their capacity to pay, and the permanent members of the Security Council must fulfil their financial obligations. Despite its economic difficulties, the Russian Federation continued to pay its debts to the United Nations and was in arrears for only one peacekeeping operation. All States must pay their peacekeeping assessment. The Organization's financial burden would also be reduced if countries hosting peacekeeping operations provided them with certain services on a preferential basis.

57. Fully aware of its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council, the Russian Federation would continue to make a practical contribution to United Nations peacekeeping activities and to international efforts carried out under its auspices.

58. **Mr. Baali** (Algeria), noting that there were more peacekeeping operations than ever before, wondered whether the United Nations should intervene only once a ceasefire was in force, in other words to maintain peace, or whether it should restore peace. Although it was recognized that the United Nations acted on behalf of the international community, true decision-making power remained the privilege of a limited number of countries whose motivations were not always those of the collective will. Discounting, or even completely ignoring, the opinion of a large majority of Member States, could, if such an attitude became the rule, cause the Organization to stray from its rightful path and draw it into operations for which it had no authority. In that context, the concept of humanitarian intervention had been categorically rejected by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77 and China, since it had no legal basis either in international law or in the Charter of the United Nations. With regard to the implementation of peacekeeping operations, it was important to react rapidly, in order to avoid massacres such as had occurred in Africa, where the Organization had been slow

to react. Although the African Heads of State and Government had decided to resolve conflicts within the framework of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations and in particular the Security Council should not consider themselves relieved of their obligations to Africa. The recommendation made by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations that a working group be created to study the enhancement of African peacekeeping capacities had been welcomed by African delegations, on condition that the group's work was undertaken within the general framework of cooperation between the United Nations and OAU and that its objective was to reinforce the work of the African Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa.

59. It was also important to find an urgent solution to the Organization's financial crisis, and thus improve its ability to react, which was basically the result of some States failing to fulfil their obligations towards the Organization, in particular permanent members of the Security Council which had special responsibilities clearly defined in the Charter. The Organization must also pay its debts towards troop-contributing countries, in particular the poorer countries, in order to encourage Member States to contribute to future operations and to reinforce the Organization's credibility.

60. His delegation believed that the code of conduct for peacekeepers had been adopted in haste and without real consultation with Member States, which should have had the opportunity to study the code in detail because it had direct implications for host countries. Algeria had always acted in solidarity with United Nations peacekeeping actions as regards both financing and participation of elements of its armed forces in various missions, in addition to the material and logistical support which it was providing to the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

61. **Mr. Haque** (Pakistan) said that there must be a fundamental reappraisal of the United Nations capacity to deal with the many diverse conflicts which were arising in different parts of the world. Real peace required efforts in all areas to eliminate the political, social, economic, ethnic, religious and other underlying causes of conflicts. Some of the challenges which needed to be addressed urgently in the context of peacekeeping included: the growing number of internal conflicts, the humanitarian dimension of conflicts, the establishment of uniform criteria for United Nations involvement, arrangements for a rapid and effective response to crisis situations irrespective of geographical location, the tendency by some to bypass the United Nations, the definition of a new role for regional organizations, the tendency to use the Security Council to promote parochial interests, the Security Council's proclivity for overstepping its role in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security, the selective implementation of Security Council resolutions, the rising costs of peacekeeping operations and the non-payment by certain Member States of their contributions.

62. His delegation was committed to international peace, collective security, preventive diplomacy, peaceful resolution of conflicts and post-conflict peace-building and had requested the Secretary-General to strengthen the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), one of the oldest peacekeeping operations. The root cause of the conflict between Pakistan and India was the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, which must be resolved in accordance with Security Council resolutions and which was particularly urgent in view of the nuclearization of South Asia. Like the people of East Timor, the people of Jammu and Kashmir must have the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the commitments made by the Security Council, India and Pakistan. As proof of his desire for peace, the Chief Executive of Pakistan had announced on 17 October 1999 that Pakistan would unilaterally withdraw its troops from the border with India.

63. The role of regional organizations in peacekeeping operations must be in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter. The international community must not delegate peacekeeping operations to regional organizations. The United Nations alone must have the ultimate responsibility for deciding what role regional players should have.

64. The international reaction to crises in Africa had been slow and late in arriving. In future, the Organization must be fully prepared to intervene urgently in that continent.

65. With regard to the operational aspects of peacekeeping operations, logic and reason had fortunately prevailed and the Organization had put an end to the use of gratis personnel in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, even if the latter had not been followed in the case of Kosovo. The Standby Arrangement System should be reinforced and the Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters must be made operational. All aspects of civilian police participation in missions must also be reviewed. The reimbursement of sums due to troop contributors continued to be slow, causing hardship to those countries, in particular the developing countries. He noted that the Organization owed $40 million to Pakistan while rich industrialized countries refused even to pay their assessed contributions. That was an unacceptable situation.

which must be rectified. The poor countries must not suffer simply because the rich countries did not fulfil their obligations. Finally, he said that more than 90 per cent of procurements were made from the developed countries. The procurement process must therefore be made more transparent and more developing countries must be added to the procurement sector.

66. **Ms. Grčić Polić** (Croatia) said that both the scope and character of peacekeeping operations were undergoing significant change. The role of the Organization in the resolution of crises should in future be to deal with the root causes of conflicts, not just their symptoms. The experience gained from previous operations, for example in Croatia, had been invaluable for future peacekeeping operations. Regional organizations and ad hoc coalitions of international forces were gradually assuming more responsibility for peacekeeping and security at various phases of the process. That was a real dilemma which must be addressed within the United Nations system, the only world organization with a universal mandate for the maintenance of peace and security. Preventive peacekeeping, such as the successful mission in Macedonia, provided another example of the Organization's new role in peacekeeping and should be highlighted by the Organization. The volume and the nature of the demand for peacekeeping operations was creating new needs for financing, personnel and rapid reaction capacity. Her delegation fully supported the Secretariat's restructuring efforts but regretted the way in which the Secretariat had failed to seek input from Member States on the question of guidelines for United Nations forces on the respect of international humanitarian law.

67. The new situation required that financial contributions should be paid without delay or conditions. Croatia joined other Member States in calling for shorter reimbursement cycles, particularly for the States whose capacity to participate in future peacekeeping operations was at stake. Croatia had recently dispatched 10 military observers to UNOMSIL and was actively considering future contributions. In that connection, it believed that consultations between troop-contributing countries and the Security Council should be institutionalized and should include, whenever appropriate, countries especially affected and other countries from the region concerned, including host countries.

68. **Mr. Mekdad** (Syrian Arab Republic) said that peacekeeping operations remained an important instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security but should be time-bound in order to implement the resolutions of international bodies, including the Security Council, concerning a specific situation, such as aggression and foreign occupation. Peacekeeping operations had started more than 50 years previously in the Middle East region and were continuing to fulfil their mission successfully, especially as the international community had a leading role to play in the settlement of the Middle East crisis. His country was ready to provide the best possible working conditions for UNTSO and UNDOF observers and hoped for a solution to the problems which it had raised in May 1999 in the Fifth Committee, during the consideration of the financing of UNDOF, concerning the difficult living conditions of local staff since the transfer of the Force's headquarters. The Syrian Arab Republic was aware of the need for the United Nations to have a standby force and was prepared to participate in one. In that connection, it welcomed the decision of certain countries not to insist on arrangements that would be contrary to the principle of equal opportunity for all Member States to participate in the force. It also welcomed the decision to phase out gratis personnel. It supported the Non-Aligned Movement's position of principle that a distinction should be drawn between peacekeeping operations and humanitarian activities. His delegation believed that the question should be studied so as to establish a balance between the role incumbent on the Security Council and that of the General Assembly in humanitarian matters.

69. Despite some progress, procurement remained a problem, because most of the purchases were made in developed countries. It was therefore important to encourage the conclusion of contracts with developing countries, so as to help them to deal with their economic difficulties. His delegation supported the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, particularly with regard to certain important matters, such as the need to pay the arrears owed to troop-contributing countries, particularly developing countries, transparency in the choice of countries wishing to participate in peacekeeping operations and, lastly, participation of all troop-contributing countries in the informal consultations organized by the Security Council in preparation for operations. It was also important to take geographical distribution into account in the choice of commanders of peacekeeping operations.

70. **Mr. Jayanama** (Thailand) said that the end of the cold war had dramatically transformed the challenges facing peacekeeping operations. Conflicts were often domestic in nature and accompanied by social and economic dislocations, so that peacekeeping applied not only to post-conflict situations but also to pre-conflict nation-building. There was therefore a need for close coordination of peacekeeping operations among all United Nations agencies concerned, as well as with civil society. Peacekeepers, who

were often confronted with human rights violations, must promote human rights in cooperation with bodies such as the Commission on Human Rights, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross, because respect for human rights was important for conflict resolution and the rebuilding of society. Peacekeeping operations were primarily the responsibility of the Security Council and must respect the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter. It was essential that the United Nations should receive the consent of the country in which peacekeeping operations would be undertaken. Regional organizations could also play a role, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter, but the United Nations must play the principal role.

71. The United Nations and particularly the Security Council must be able to launch a mission quickly before the crisis escalated, in a non-discriminatory and non-selective manner, in strict accordance with the United Nations rules of engagement and the mandate given by the Council.

72. The 18 peacekeeping operations in place were making an invaluable contribution to the prevention of hostilities and the establishment of peace, but it should not be forgotten that peacekeeping was not an end in itself but only one of the means to establish the conditions for peace and that it could therefore not replace efforts by the parties concerned to address the root causes of the conflict. In a sense, the prevalence of peacekeeping in the world indicated that the international community had failed to solve the fundamental problems of international peace and security.

73. Thailand attached great importance to peacekeeping and, despite its difficulties caused by the economic crisis, supported the operations conducted by the United Nations worldwide. Thailand had affirmed its readiness to join the Standby Arrangements System and was preparing to send men under the banner of the United Nations to East Timor, out of a sense of responsibility towards both the region and the international community.

74. **Mr. Ortague** (United States of America) said that the Special Committee, which had made a meaningful contribution to peacekeeping, would become even more effective following the revision of its work methods. Events during 1999 had made clear the urgent need for significant United Nations involvement in peacekeeping. The Special Committee was more important than ever and it must enable Member States to make recommendations to the United Nations and give the Organization the capacity to address the ever-expanding workload of peacekeeping operations, which in the coming six months could double the number of peacekeepers in the field. His delegation agreed with the Secretary-General that the United Nations must have an effective "surge capacity" to address unexpected international crises. In particular, the Secretary-General must have the flexibility to ensure that the Organization had the right resources and skills at the right place and for the right period of time, to accomplish all mandated missions. The expansion and further development of the Standby Arrangement System was fundamental to the enhancement of the United Nations surge capacity. In addition, the Department of Peace-keeping Operations must be equipped with adequate military and civilian police expertise, which must be fully integrated with all aspects of mission development and execution. The establishment of the Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters would improve United Nations capacity to respond to the challenge. Several peacekeeping operations would undoubtedly continue to require a rapid civilian police response and Member States should make a special effort to strengthen United Nations capacity to provide such assistance. To that end, systematic procedures should be established for civilian police recruitment, advanced training should be provided for those lacking international experience, and official status should be given to a permanent cadre to facilitate mobilization, discipline and overall quality control.

75. The training unit in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations played an important role in improving the capacity of Member States to participate in peacekeeping operations. Through its African Crisis Response Initiative, the United States Government intended to train over 10,000 peacekeepers across Africa to participate in peacekeeping operations. In that programme, the United States had actively sought strong linkages with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

76. The United States Government was concerned that the standing instructions from the Secretary-General on the respect of international humanitarian law by United Nations forces were not the result of the true collaboration among the parties concerned, because the Secretariat had published them after holding only very brief consultations. That very important question should be the subject of a new series of consultations with the Secretariat.

77. He concluded by paying tribute to the 14,000 United Nations personnel participating in peacekeeping operations in the field. He was very concerned by attacks and acts of violence against United Nations personnel in Kosovo, Burundi, Georgia and Sierra Leone, and called on host countries to fulfil their legal obligations to ensure their safety and security.

78. **Mr. Yousefi** (Islamic Republic of Iran) associated his delegation with the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

79. The Security Council was entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and peacekeeping operations therefore constituted an important part of United Nations activities to prevent the escalation of conflicts through peaceful means. Those operations must be carried out in strict accordance with the guiding principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. When establishing a new operation, the Organization must ensure impartiality of the peacekeeping forces, consent of the warring parties and non-use of force except in cases of self-defence. In order to succeed, all operations must have clearly defined mandates and objectives.

80. While acknowledging that armed conflicts typically took a heavier toll on civilians and more than 90 per cent of armed conflicts were internal, he believed that the United Nations should not allow factors beyond its control such as media coverage, politics and geography to play a determining role in the way it responded to crises and allocated resources. The crisis in Kosovo had dominated global media headlines during the preceding year, yet equally serious or even more serious crises occurring in other parts of the world had been largely ignored. At a moment when new peacekeeping operations were being established, it was important for the Security Council to approach all conflicts endangering international peace and security with the same degree of intensity and commitment, irrespective of their location.

81. It was imperative for the Organization to maintain a clear distinction between humanitarian operations and all other activities of the United Nations system, including peacekeeping. Lack of consensus in the Security Council at times of crisis did not entitle any country or group of countries to act unilaterally to deal with a conflict. There was no viable alternative to the United Nations as a unique mechanism for maintaining international peace and security. The impotence of the Security Council in the case of Kosovo had proved once again that the right of veto must be limited, with a view to its eventual elimination. In addition, strengthening the role of the General Assembly and increasing its efficiency should remain on the agenda for the decades to come.

82. United Nations peacekeeping operations should reflect the collective efforts of the entire membership. His delegation believed in the principles of collective security and the collective responsibility of Member States for the maintenance of international peace and security, and had joined the standby arrangements system in March 1900, convinced that that system, open to all States, was essential for the increased effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations and needed to be strengthened in order to achieve its goals. Countries contributing troops to peacekeeping operations must be provided with all necessary information concerning their contribution; the Department of Peacekeeping Operations should take under consideration offers by Member States to contribute to peacekeeping operations.

83. His delegation believed that peacekeeping must not become an area of competition between the United Nations and the regional organizations, and therefore associated itself with the position of the Non-Aligned Movement, emphasizing that cooperation between them should be consistent with the letter and spirit of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. The training of peacekeepers was a national responsibility, however, the United Nations and its respective organs had an important role to play in such training activities. His delegation attached great importance to the Training Unit of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and was of the opinion that United Nations Training Assistance Teams would improve Member States' capacity to train their personnel with a view to participation in peacekeeping operations, which would improve the effectiveness of missions in the field.

84. With regard to recruitment, all posts should be filled in a transparent manner consistent with articles 100 and 101 of the Charter and on as wide a geographical basis as possible. Priority should be given to countries which were not yet represented in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations or in the field. In conclusion, he expressed his satisfaction at the spirit of cooperation in the Committee, which had resulted in a series of recommendations for the improvement of United Nations peacekeeping operations, such as the reform of the working methods of the Special Committee.

85. **Mr. Droushiotis** (Cyprus) said that Cyprus, as a country associated with the European Union, aligned itself with the statement made by the representative of Finland on behalf of the European Union.

86. United Nations peacekeeping operations, which had been a hallmark of the Organization's efforts to maintain international peace and security since its creation, had become multidimensional and complex and were a key element in the mechanisms established by the Organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

87. It was currently widely recognized that most operations combined several strategies related to the prevention of conflict, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building, which required coordination. In that context, he welcomed the increasing recourse to the International Court of Justice which could be a useful complement to the work of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Cyprus was an excellent example of the fact that any peacekeeping operation must be accompanied by intensive peace-building efforts.

88. Following a request from Cyprus for assistance against Turkey, the Security Council had, by resolution 186 (1964), created the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). As a complementary strategy, that resolution had appointed a United Nations mediator who had produced an exemplary report which, had it been accepted by all concerned, would have solved the problem and made UNFICYP unnecessary. Following the 1974 invasion and the division of the island by force, the mandate of the United Nations force had been adjusted, and it was carrying out additional functions to alleviate the human suffering caused by the military occupation. Nevertheless, despite repeated United Nations resolutions and the strenuous efforts of the Secretary-General through his good offices mission, the problem in Cyprus remained unresolved.

89. The lesson to be drawn from peacekeeping efforts in Cyprus was that as long as the two parties did not comply with the dictates of the international community as spelled out in the resolutions of the Security Council, which were binding and had been adopted unanimously, and as long as the members of the international community were unwilling or unable to take effective action to ensure the implementation of the resolutions for which they had voted, it would be impossible to restore peace and the problem would be perpetuated. Peacekeeping and peacemaking were complementary and when the peacemaking strategy fell behind on account of one party, the Security Council should act promptly and effectively to redress the situation.

90. In order to be effective, peacekeeping operations must be supported by stable financial resources. For that reason, Member States should pay their contributions in full and on time. In that connection, he pointed out that the Government of Cyprus contributed one third of the total costs of the Force and that it voluntarily contributed an additional one third more than its assessed contribution to all United Nations peacekeeping operations. The safety and security of personnel participating in peacekeeping operations was important and attacks and acts of violence against United Nations and associated personnel were a cause for great concern. His delegation therefore welcomed the entry into force of the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.

91. In conclusion, he paid tribute to the peacekeeping personnel who had lost their lives in the service of the United Nations.

92. **Mr. Leonel** (Brazil) supported the statement made by the representative of Uruguay on behalf of the member countries of MERCOSUR. In recent years, United Nations peacekeeping activities had multiplied and many lessons could be drawn from them. If the Organization was to be able to be effective in preventing conflicts and maintaining peace, it must be able to count on solid institutional and budgetary support.

93. Peacekeeping operations were now multidimensional in nature and had to face increasingly complex situations. It was no longer a question of selective operations, out of action in a much broader framework that included conflict prevention, humanitarian aid and reconstruction in the post-conflict phase through the promotion of economic and social development. If the Department of Peacekeeping Operations did not have sufficient resources and qualified personnel, it would be impossible for it to discharge its multiple responsibilities.

94. His delegation unreservedly supported General Assembly resolution 51/243 concerning gratis personnel, as well as the criteria for the recruitment and assignment of personnel set forth in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular those relating to equitable geographical distribution, and those set forth in Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter. His delegation was gratified that the Secretariat had phased out the recruitment of gratis personnel in accordance with resolution 51/43. However, it shared the general concern about the impact of this reduction in staff on the operational capacity of the Department in the face of the multiple demands made on it. He expressed his delegation's concern about the negative impact of the financial crisis on the Organization's capacity to take action and deplored the considerable delays in the settlement of requests for reimbursement of troop-contributing countries. He also emphasized the importance of transparency in the placing of orders for supplies of equipment.

95. With regard to the protection of the civilian and military personnel engaged in peacekeeping operations, he emphasized the importance of training, together with the implementation of the relevant legal instruments.

96. In conclusion, he said that Brazil renewed its commitment to peacekeeping operations.

97. **Ms. Noda** (Guatemala) supported the statement made by the representative of Jordan on behalf of the non-aligned countries. Guatemala recognized the fundamental role which the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) had played in verifying human rights and compliance with the commitments made under the Peace Agreements concluded in December 1996. That Mission had facilitated the transition towards peace and had contributed to the democratization of Guatemala.

98. After decades of instability and conflict, which were endemic in certain Central American countries, it was now possible to speak of peace, to which the presence of a United Nations mission had contributed in most cases. What was needed now was to strengthen that peace and place it on the solid bases of justice, solidarity, equity, dialogue and democratic participation. Other questions deserved to be analysed carefully, such as the legitimacy of certain humanitarian interventions in the light of the serious legal consequences of that question.

99. On the threshold of the new millennium, Guatemala hoped that a deep and lasting peace would be established and was convinced that development, tolerance and mutual respect would contribute towards that end.

100. **Mr. Zahn** (International Committee of the Red Cross) observed that the Secretary-General of the United Nations had chosen the symbolic date of 12 August 1999, the date which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Geneva Conventions, to issue his bulletin on respect for international humanitarian law by United Nations forces. That bulletin, which summarized the principal rules of humanitarian law, was expressly applicable to United Nations personnel. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had contributed to the drafting of that text and was prepared to participate in any review thereof.

101. Peacekeeping operations played a unique role not only in the settlement of conflicts but also in the post-conflict phase. The members of the contingents assigned to those operations, under the command and control of the United Nations, were already, as members of national armed forces, bound by the international humanitarian treaties ratified by their respective countries. Those troops, acting on behalf of the international community, should in theory behave in an exemplary manner, but in practice their knowledge of humanitarian law proved to be variable and it was therefore for their benefit that the bulletin had been prepared. Operations authorized by the Security Council and placed under the command of a State or regional organization were not bound by those rules but were required to respect the customary rules of the State or group of States to which they belonged.

102. In response to the wishes of the Secretary-General concerning the adequate training of peacekeeping forces in the areas of humanitarian law and human rights, ICRC contributed to many training courses in those areas for members of contingents and was preparing a training module for them.

103. The International Committee of the Red Cross was gratified that the Secretary-General had requested troop-contributing States to recruit only those who were at least 21 years of age and in no case those under 18.

104. The International Committee of the Red Cross shared the view expressed by the Special Committee in its report that it was important to distinguish between peacekeeping operations and humanitarian action, since confusion between the different types of activity could only have an adverse effect on the conduct of each. Humanitarian action must retain its apolitical and independent character.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.